NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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IT'S UP TO YOU NOW!

Vote to clean up the stinking mess!

HOW LOW ARE YOU PREPARED to let the reputation of this American democracy sink? How bad does the smell of political putrefaction have to get before you will go to work with the roach-exterminator your forefathers bequeathed to you — your ballot?

In this final week before the elections we invite you aware citizens—especially in New York where the stink is so overwhelming, the campaign so crucial—to put the question that way to every Republican and Democratic voter you can reach.

Considering some of the past black periods in U. S. political history, a new all-time low in corruption is indeed a dizzy achievement. Yet what has been revealed in this campaign, as Tammany pots and GOP kettles seek each to make the other look a little sootier, certainly breaks all previous records.

They are doing pretty well, too, in Los Angeles, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in Harry Truman's old stamping-ground, Kansas City. In each of these places democracy is mocked and befouled by alliances for loot between "the people's choices" and gambling, prostitution and murder rings. Democrats and Republicans are involved equally: whichever party is now on the outs is simply maneuvering to get its snout back into the swill.

WHAT IS NEW IN AMERICAN HISTORY is that the politicians, Democrat and Republican alike, are more cynical about it than they ever dared to be in the past. They can afford to laugh openly at the people whom they loot because they have a new gimmick: if you vote for a return to public decency, "you're a red."

Thus by intimidation they seek to reduce the democratic process to the farce of voting out one group of gangsters in order to vote in another group of gangsters.

This farce may be expected to continue indefinitely—until our citizens stop it by refusing to be intimidated. Behind this "democracy" which is nothing but a mask, American money-power can maintain the hypocrisy that its world looting policies are motivated by concern for the common man of the world.

The connection between our corrupt world politics and our corrupt domestic politics has been documented over and over again by the GUARDIAN. Any thought that we can be indecent at home and decent in Korea or Germany (where last week, as our "Liberty Bell" pealed in Berlin, the lid fell off a vast U. S.-model political-bribe scandal involving all "respectable" parties) is a fatal illusion.

YES, WE ARE NOT ONLY in the grip of pot-and-kettle corruption here, but we are exporting it to the dozens of countries throughout the world which our money-power dominates. That is something for Americans to think about before they cast a vote next week for the pot or for the kettle.

Our corrupt national leaders have not found difficult the task of finding corrupt citizens of these countries to co-operate with them. For instance in the Philippines, which they so proudly claim to have "liberated," they dug up one Elpidio Quirino, whose government of pots has been exposed in fabulous (by their standards) bribe-taking operations by a rival group of kettles.

But the arrogance of the big American pots toward the little colonial pots finally becomes too much for the Quirinos. Last week these words of exasperated truth came unexpectedly and embarrassingly from the office of our puppet Philippines President:

> "Filipinos are mere pikers compared to their more accomplished and eminently successful mentors who have had and still have a vast continent in which to base their operations. . . . Filipinos, there is no question, are inefficient all right—even in their grafting—due no doubt to the simple lack of sufficient experience. With more time and greater chances, they will yet show they can equal or even surpass the stink familiar and now taken for granted in Washington and such very exemplary centers of power, prosperity and culture."

What our Philippines stooge blurted out about us last week, we may presume the other stooges are thinking also, though they are too tactful to say it.

THIS IS THE POINT to which our pot-and-kettle "democracy" has reduced the reputation of America in the world today.

Yet a way is presented to the common folk of this land—next week—to take our democracy out of quotation marks, to give it blood and life once more.

We emphasize again the key importance of the New York election, where against Republican and Tammany candidates corrupted by money-power, mired in the political loot system, the gallant American Labor Party offers a full, clean slate of fighters for peace and honest democracy, headed by Vito Marcantonio, W. E. B. DuBois and John T. McManus.

It remained for the American Labor Party—through the GUARDIAN's John T. McManus, candidate for governor—to call on the U. S. Senate to investigate "bartering of nominations like commercial goods" by BOTH Republicans and Democrats alike in the state.

It remains for YOU, the voters, to see that we get something more than investigations; to see to it—by rolling up a tremendous protest vote against corruption and for the people's peace candidates of the ALP and Progressive Party nationally—that the once-fair name of American democracy is lifted from the mire.

—THE EDITORS

Photo by Esther Handler

"Only Marc helps us"

In East Harlem last Tuesday 11 Puerto Rican families were evicted by a landlord who sought to vacate a slum tenement. In despair a tenant went to an American Labor Party club for help. Congressman Vito Marcantonio, touring the district at the time, heard of the event and hurried to the scene. On the street he dictated an affidavit for a show cause order to halt the evictions, then hurried off to find a judge. Meanwhile a Welfare Dept. investigator arrived with ward-heelers of the other parties and tried to get the evicted tenants to sign papers. The assembled crowd of hundreds began to chant "No firme nada" (Don't sign anything) just as Marc arrived with the show cause order preventing the evictions. A tremendous cheer went up and scores of volunteers helped the families move their belongings back into the house. As the crowd broke up, the phrase was heard all over: "Only Marc helps us."

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ATTENTION, READERS!

In order to include election returns, press day of next week's GUARDIAN will be delayed and you will receive it two days later than normally.

Much of our space in this issue, as in the last, is devoted to campaign information. After the elections our usual complete round-ups of vital news will be resumed.

Why Sen. Lehman should be replaced

W. E. B. DuBOIS, an American of great stature and dauntless courage who has never compromised in the fight to build a peaceful, free and bountiful America, is contesting in New York the U. S. Senate seat of Democrat Herbert H. Lehman, who is publicized as an "FDR liberal" and spokesman for the common people.

Lehman has sat in the U. S. Senate for one year, and in that short time no one has done a better job of exploding the myth of Lehman's "liberalism" than Lehman himself.

Here are the facts about Herbert H. Lehman, Park Avenue resident, Bankers Club member, listed in **Who's Who in America** as a partner in the Wall St. firm of Lehman Bros.

"MAN OF THE PEOPLE"? Here is the low-down on Lehman Bros., the banking firm of which Herbert Lehman is a partner: It controls the N. Y. City Omnibus Corp., which hiked fares 60% under Mayor O'Dwyer's administration without any betterment of service to long-suffering riders. It controls, or is involved with other interests in:

Macy's, Gimbels, Bloomingdale's, May Dept. Stores, Bond's, Brown Shoe, W. T. Grant, Allied Stores, A. S. Beck, Kresge, Jewel Tea, American Export Lines, American Airlines, Pan American Airways, Continental Airlines, Consolidated Vultee, Continental Can, Burlington Mills, Dayton Rubber, Kimberly Clark (lumber), Flinkote (roofing).

Take a deep breath—here are a few more:

United Biscuit, National Dairy, General Foods, United Fruit, Radio Keith Orpheum, 20th Century-Fox, General Realty and Utilities, Bing & Bing (real estate), Western Union, Tidewater Associated Oil, Fruehauf Trailer.

With Lazard Freres (bankers involved in mining throughout the world) Lehman Bros. set up a holding company—General American Investors Corp. This company is headed by Herbert Lehman's brother-in-law, Frank Altschul, a driving force behind the phony Crusade for Freedom. Gen. Lucius Clay, who flew to

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THE MAIL BAG

Xmas suggestion

BALTIMORE, MD.

Enclosed please find check for $10 to pay the $5 I owe for five new subs. . . . I want to send you at least 10 subs each month.

Inasmuch as Christmas is right around the corner, what a swell Christmas present to one's friends and relatives, and you don't have to be bothered shopping, getting in jams.

I have nine brothers and sisters, 34 nephews and nieces and 28 second nephews and nieces, so you see I'd have plenty to send to in my own family. H. G. Bolander

There are no neutrals

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Heaven or hell on earth? Which do you want? America has reached the crossroads, and each one of us must decide which road to take—whether to the left or to the right. There is no other choice and there are no neutrals.

Fellow Americans, do you want to be with your brothers and sisters—the real Americans who are striving to free America and the world of its endless wars, brought on by its "money-changers" and enslavers?

You still have your choice, your ballots. Don't throw them away on your two old and discredited parties of the warmongers, who have "sold you down the river." Aleman Siga

The muffled bell

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Washington Post recently offered a $25 cold-war bond for the best suggestion of a permanent location for a replica of the Liberty Bell which had been presented to the national capital. A friend of mine wrote a letter recommending that "in view of the slaughtering of civil liberties in recent decisions of the Supreme Court, the widespread official use of wiretapping, stool-pigeons and turncoats, and the nationwide persecution of minority opinion, the most appropriate repository for the Liberty Bell would be Arlingon Cemetery, where already lie so many of the country's honored dead."

I bet him a dollar they wouldn't even print his letter. I won. Here's the dollar. Frederick A. Blossom

Aloha, 5 bucks

HONOLULU, HAWAII

I want the boys and the girls on the GUARDIAN to know that I think they are doing a swell job of getting out the paper. It is filled with good stuff—the material is well chosen, well written, and the art work is effective too. I want to save you 10c by renewing now; what's left after doing that, please throw into the kitty to help things along—$5 enclosed. The red-baiters and the union splitters are busy here too. R. J. Baker

On from Stockholm

SUNNYSIDE, WASH.

I've been a reader of the GUARDIAN for about 9 months now. It should have a circulation of 10 million.

The Stockholm pledge does do good—it shows the warmakers where we stand. But it isn't enough. What we need is total disarmament plus a planned economy of production for use and money and land reform. Eugene Smith

Off our red list

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I can't stand being on your "red list" (sub renewal due). So here's hard-earned $1 to put me back in your good graces and start sending the papers at once, please. I am a student at the New York School of Social Work at Columbia. Milton Yale

Can the stove pipe!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In the Los Angeles Mirror of Sept. 28, we learn: "American informants said the 'U.S. has no desire for bases or special privileges in Korea' and wants the country to be free from the domination of any other nation. It also desires Korea's admission to the United Nations and the organization of the country in such a way that it 'will pose no threats to its neighbors'—China and the Soviet Union."

So now we have it. Not only has the little old U.S.A. been "defending" itself all along, but, under the auspices of the angels of Wall Street and the gentle peace proposers who stand in with them and do their bidding, has been maneuvering with bombs and guns these several months in order that the mighty and aggressively intentioned Korean nation may know its rightful place in the world and not set about threatening or attacking its neighbors—"China and the Soviet Union!"

The question that now arises is: Should not Uncle Sam henceforth be depicted as wearing a halo instead of a stove-pipe hat?

E. E. Haas

Weepers and howlers

OTTAWA, ILL.

The unbelieved but very much dreaded prophecy of James is coming into its own: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you" (James 5:1 etc.). Hitherto they have not only been able to start these many wars, but they have also been able to make the people (the common people) foot the bills. But here for the first time in the history of all wars, these Shylocks have actually become fearful of losing their own Empires.

They are being forced into a total mobilization, but even in the midst of all their fears they will be "dreaming dreams and seeing visions" around the corner, when through the strategic connivings of their gods they will become more firmly seated in the saddle. These dreams and their under-the-breath musings are recorded for us in Amos 8:4-6. J. T. Cox

The "musings" as recorded by Amos: "When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? And the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? That we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat?" Ed.

Spanish doll

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N. Y.

I think my greatest admiration is for people able to endure prison, with no term set, no guarantee of liberation except the exchange of hope.

Today at a lunch to welcome anti-fascist women out of prison, and pledge all we had to those marking time till they went in, there were lovely Spanish shawls on the walls—but most moving and beautiful for me was a Spanish dancer doll made by the men in Franco's oldest and most terrible prison for men. The men sent it to the latest and most terrible of Franco's prisons for women, and asked them to dress it.

And there it was on our table. One battle—one purpose.

Dorothy Butler Howells

Sunk without Townsend?

MONTICELLO, ILL.

The Progressive Party will not get anywhere unless it gets the labor votes. If it came out for the Townsend Plan, the big labor leaders could not control their members' votes. The Townsend plan is what the common man wants and if we ignore the common man we are sunk. Fred McMillen

DUGAN'S HISTORY LESSON

The great con man

By James Dugan

ONCE upon a time there was an Irish adventurer named John Henry, who arrived in the U.S. at a time of hysterical anti-foreign politics and found the situation to his advantage. He began publishing fierce propaganda against republican institutions and the idea of democracy. Soon he came to the attention of agents of a foreign power, who hired him as a spy. When Henry reported that New England was ready to leave the Union as soon as war was declared, the foreign employer was very happy and sent him home to report directly to his Foreign Office. But the Foreign Office was too smart to buy the con man's dope, and Henry got the brushoff. He was sent back to dig up some straight stuff. Naturally John Henry was hurt by this crude attitude, so he decided to offer his services to the war party in the U.S.

Henry went to the Governor of Massachusetts and told all. The Governor was so impressed that he sent Henry with a letter of introduction to the President. The President was so impressed that he gave Henry $50,000 in secret unvouchered funds for a breath-taking spy coup Henry said he could deliver: the full treasonable correspondence between Americans and the foreign power. Henry took the 50 G's and caught the first boat for France with his buddy, the bogus Count de Crillon.

As far as history is concerned, John Henry probably retired on the take, because we hear nothing more of him. But the President went to Congress with Henry's "disclosures" and was able to make a war: the war of 1812. The President was James Madison, the foreign power was Great Britain.

Lord Holland, in the House of Lords, was so mortified by John Henry's charges against Britain that he challenged the British government to deny that it had entered into "a dishonorable and atrocious intrigue against a friendly power." The British Government, which is very good at denials, has never denied it.

MORAL: If at first you don't succeed, spy, spy again.

Lehman's record

(Continued from Page 1)

Berlin with the "Freedom Scroll" last week, was named a Lehman director when he retired as U.S. Military Governor of Germany.

In 1947 Lehman Bros. was indicted, with 16 other investment banks, on charges of "a wrongful and unlawful conspiracy . . . to monopolize the securities business of the U.S." Lehman counsel in the case was the firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, John Foster Dulles' outfit. (Lehman called Dulles a bigot and an anti-Semite in defeating him for the Senate in 1949, but was the first to embrace the same Dulles later in the Truman war council.)

"FDR LIBERAL"? Here are some of the ways in which banker Lehman has recently shown his "liberalism":

On Oct. 1, 1950, the anti-Semitic Gen. Wladislaw Anders, whose mercenary armies fought with the Arab Legion against the new state of Israel, came to the U.S. to promote an armed crusade against his native Poland. Herbert Lehman stood at Anders' side in the reviewing stand at a parade (even mayoralty candidates Pecora and Corsi stayed away). Then he sent a message to a banquet in Anders' honor describing the anti-Semite as "one of the most illustrious of Poland's fighters for freedom."

Two weeks later the U.S. released from prison in Germany—long before his term was up—Baron Ernst von Weizsaecker, Hitler's envoy to the Vatican, convicted of sending thousands of Jews to their death in Nazi Poland's slave labor camps. Weizsaecker's first act was to kneel in homage at the graves of Goering and others whom he helped in the slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews. Not a word of protest came from Lehman.

CONGRESSIONAL HISTORY: The record shows that the "Fair Deal" Administration ran out on its promises of Taft-Hartley repeal, health insurance, rent control, FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, conservation of natural resources and excess profits taxes. Sen. Lehman never raised his voice against the "Fair Deal" sell-out. He kept his banker's counsel.

Lehman voted consistently for the billions of arms appropriations which have pyramided the profits of Lehman Bros. corporations. He is enough of an economist to know that such vast expenditures for weapons of destruction could not leave money to build schools and dams, wipe out pellagra and plant new forests. Yet, fearful of the effects on profits of a lowering of the war fever, he said on Oct. 3, 1950:

> **"When the conflict in Korea ends and the immediate threat to our security is removed, there will be greater danger of softening in our determination and in our will to sacrifice. Already I see a psychological letdown. Nothing could be more dangerous."**

Last month Lehman co-sponsored in the Senate a bill to create U.S. concentration camps for "subversives" (presumably referring to persons who had "psychological letdowns"). Then, after the concentration camp provision was included in the catch-all McCarran "security" bill, Lehman voted against the bill—and now parades this fact to catch the votes of liberals who were asleep during the first part of the program.

THIS IS LEHMAN: Dr. DuBois pricked the myth precisely when he said:

> **"Herbert Lehman was trained in big business and today deliberately represents its interests. It is time that Sen. Lehman is replaced by a man who is opposed to war and willing to fight for civil liberties—not simply the liberty of corporations, but liberty for the masses of American men and women."**

Dr. DuBois is such a man.

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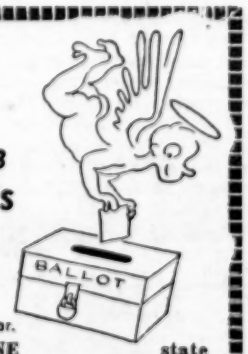

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THE ISSUES NOV. 7 FOR THE WORKER, FOR THE FARMER, FOR FREEDOM

LABOR

"Eighty-cursed Congress" gave worker a raw deal

LOOKING through the shambles of what the **Journal of the United Mine Workers** called "the eighty-cursed Congress," working men and women find just one tried and tested friend: New York's Vito Marcantonio. With that lone exception, they find that responsibility for the "eighty-cursed" rests on the "friends of labor" in Congress.

Labor had asked for repeal of Taft-Hartley under which labor's militancy is punished, machine rule encouraged, objectives limited, organization hampered, controlled, snarled. It had asked for middle- and low-income housing, rent control, health insurance, federal aid to education, social security improvement and a break on taxes.

Labor got from its Democrat-Republican "friends" no repeal of T-H and housing legislation with the provisions for middle-income projects nearly cut out. Bills for federal aid to education were killed in the House. Rent controls were lifted. Health insurance never got a hearing. Taxes on low incomes were raised by 20%, with no excess profits tax passed although profits were at an all-time excess. The Social Security law was broadened, but the Knowland amendment was tacked on limiting enforcement of federal standards in unemployment compensation.

BLACK DAYS: The McCarran Act threatens labor's elementary right to organize. The Korean war has boosted prices, promises longer hours and a wage freeze. On both coasts blacklisting has become official policy, acceded to by CIO and AFL. Labor spies roam the ships and wharves as blatantly as in the days before the La-Follette investigation, and threaten to spread to other industries.

LABOR'S OWN: Labor, looking for its own, finds its candidates on Progressive Party slates. None of them are politicians. Here are some of many labor men and women running for office on PP tickets.

- **Thomas J. Fitzpatrick** for governor of Pennsylvania; officially endorsed by his old Local 601 UE; twice elected president of UE Dist. 6; three times president of Local 601; president of Pittsburgh's Steel City Council. CIO; delegate to the state CIO Council.
- **Robert Travis** for Secretary of State of Michigan: charter member of the UAW-CIO, president of the Chevrolet Local, leader of the auto sit-down strikes of 1936.
- **Sam Parks** for Congress from Chicago's First District: secy.-treas. of Dist. 1, United Packinghouse Workers of America; president of Local 25 at Wilson & Co.
- **Michael A. Jiminez,** for comptroller of New York: international UE representative.

FARM

Only Progressives offer the farmer a choice

WHEN pollsters picked up the pieces of their predictions on the 1948 election and sought the explanation of what happened, they agreed it was the unexpected farm vote that threw victory to the Democrats. Farmers sent Harry S. Truman to the White House; Truman has sent nothing back.

Looking at the major parties two years later, farmers see small choice between them. As the Oregon Farmers Union puts it:

> **Both parties are working the same side of the street. Because foreign policy and domestic policy are so closely intertwined, the choice between the parties on the ational level is the choice between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. Our foreign policy has been one of consistent reaction. Those who think we can have a reactionary foreign policy and a liberal domestic policy are whistling in the dark. . . . It is becoming increasingly apparent that as more and more billions are spent on the defense program, the "little people" are going to be asked to make most of the sacrifice. Their right to build small homes, to own cars, refrigerators and radios—to enjoy an American standard of living—is being taken away, on the ground that the defense program requires it. . . . Whoever goes back to Washington after Nov. 7 should be made to understand that the people back home don't like that kind of a program.**

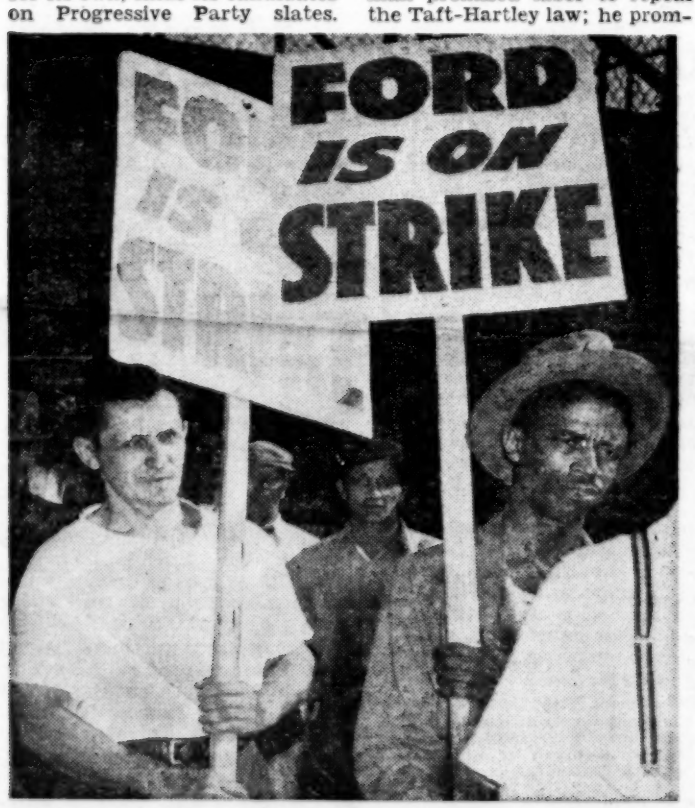
"NEVER HEARD OF IT": Truman promised labor to repeal the Taft-Hartley law; he promised the farmer to enact the Brannan Plan, which would give parity income to the family-sized farm and lower prices for consumers. Both promises were airily betrayed. On his recent barnstorming tour, Vice President Barkley denied that the Democratic Party is committed to the plan. The **Wall St. Journal** pointed out editorially on Oct. 13:

> **In Iowa Albert J. Loveland, who was until recently Undersecretary of Agriculture, is the Democratic candidate for Senator. Word from that predominantly agricultural state is that Mr. Loveland says little or nothing about the Brannan plan; he acts almost as though he had never heard of it.**

U. S. farmers have many another old-standing grievance which the 81st Congress did nothing to settle. One-fourth of all farm families still receive an income of less than $1,000 a year. Most farm homes are in shabby disrepair, lack running water and telephones. Rural schools are insultingly inadequate. Health services in rural areas are appallingly short of needs; nowhere are there enough hospitals, clinics, doctors, dentists, nurses.

PP OR FLIP A COIN: Over and above all this is the farmer's worry of a world war. The Korean adventure gave a temporary artifical boost to farm prices, but gave a bigger one to industrial products the farmer must buy; the widening gap yawns under him like a grave. Stiffened taxes for low incomes head him toward the poor-house. Draft requirements rob him of his labor force. In Korea he has won nothing, lost much. In a general war he would lose all.

On Nov. 7 he has an answer wherever a Progressive Party candidate—the only party that stands flatly for the Brannan Plan and a switch from war spending to peace spending. —is running. For the rest, he can neither flip a coin or stay home and attend his chores.



FREEDOM

Americans who love America joining to repeal McCarran police state law

THE sudden knock at the door at three o'clock in the morning, the warrant of arrest, the fast trip to the nearest jail: these hallmarks of fascist states are realities in the U. S. today. The McCarran Internal Security Act is at work. To date some 37 foreign-born Americans have been seized in midnight raids in 11 cities; a total of 86 are listed for immediate arrest. Some 3,400 others are slated for the same treatment later. Under the new law they can be held without bail for six months, subjected to indefinite surveillance and harassment after that.

Sitting in Washington today is a new five-member Subversive Activities Control Board whose job it is—if it can perform it—to create a master police file of every U. S. progressive. In the offing are concentration camps for the detention without trial or bail of any and all persons suspected of holding unorthodox social and political beliefs.

POLITICAL PLUMS: Control Board members draw $12,500 a year; President Truman's appointments suggest the bestowing of political rewards for political favors. On the Board sits Dr. Kathryn McHale, sister of the Democratic National Committeeman from Indiana; heading it is Seth W. Richardson, a man already well-trained for his political police function as former chairman of the President's own "Loyalty Review Board."

But the new law is not likely ever to produce the results its authors wished; already it is having a reverse effect. None of the repressive legislation of the past few years has brought together organizations and individuals of such widely divergent views in a demand fo routright repeal. At Harvard three professors — Zechariah Chafee Jr., Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. and Archibald MacLeish—were sending appeals to 25,000 Americans to work for the law's repeal. In Washington attorneys representing over 100 citizens in 32 states have already filed a suit for an injunction against the law.

THEY WERE SO RIGHT: But repeal does not shape up as an easy fight. The Congress that passed the law by such overwhelming majorities cannot be expected to wipe it off the books. The "liberals" and "Fair Dealers" who weakly opposed it are speaking vaguely of amendments, not of repeal. Much of the law is to their liking and it was the "liberal" bloc of senators who sponsored its concentration camp feature. In the debate before its passage Democrats called Republican portions of the bill fascist; Republicans called Democratic portions fascist. Both were right.

Wherever there is a Progressive candidate in next week's elections, a vote for him or her is a vote for this law's total repeal. There is no other way to vote for total enforcement of the U. S. Constitution as written.

Accused and accuser in Lilliput

There are some laws and customs in this empire which are very peculiar; and, if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed. The first I shall mention relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but, if the person accused maketh his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death; and, out of his goods or lands, the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he hath been at in making his defense. Or, if that fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The emperor does also confer on him some public mark of his favor, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city. **JONATHAN SWIFT, "Gulliver's Travels." London, 1726**

NEW YORK

ALP nails old parties on corruption as campaign ends

POLITICAL SCANDALS gripped New York from the Battery to Buffalo. The extent of the corruption and the high offices involved caused shocked comment all over the world. Yet, political observers said, there were some 700,000 voters still undecided one week before election day.

Buffalo Courier-Express

"Tsk! Tsk! Tsk!"

Before the voters the Democrats, and the Liberals who support them, stand heavily tarred with the administration of New York City where a gigantic gambling ring used top city officials as junior partners. (Arch-bookie Harry Gross, boss of a $20,000,000 ring, was reported to be still operating from his Brooklyn cell.)

Evidence mounted of graft in school appropriations. In City Hall are lists, according to Paul L. Ross, American Labor Party candidate for mayor, showing contractors to be favored, jobs to be dispensed.

Before the storm broke Democratic Mayor William O'Dwyer had fled to Mexico, newly rigged out as an U.S. ambassador.

LYNCH RECORD: The Democrats stood further exposed by the connections of Herbert Lehman (see p. 1) and the record of Rep. Walter A. Lynch, Democratic candidate for governor.

Lynch voted against repeal of Taft-Hartley and for a wage freeze; to raise withholding taxes but against an excess profit tax; against FEPC; and he spoke on support of Rep. Lanham (D-Ga.) who called Civil Rights Congress director William Patterson a "black S.O.B." He voted to appropriate $150,000 for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and for the Kilgore concentration camp bill. He voted for a $60,000,000 loan to Franco.

A factor in the Democratic-Liberal mess, it was said, is the prominent racketeer Frank Costello. (The Republicans have his counterpart in the deputed vice ring executive, Lucky Luciano, whose sentence was commuted by Gov. Dewey.)

IMPY's BARGAIN: When O'Dwyer fled, City Hall passed into the hands of Vincent Impellitteri, until then a loyal Tammany man. Entering the race as an independent, he bargained with Tammany Hall leader Carmine de Sapio. They juggled between them a supreme court judgeship as the price for Impellitteri's withdrawal. De Sapio said that Impellitteri came to the Hall at midnight and offered the deal. Impellitteri said that de Sapio made the offer first.

Impellitteri, posing as a "liberal reformer," ordering the jailing without charges of hundreds of New Yorkers "until after election." None of the city's well known thugs was arrested in Police Commissioner Murphy's "hoodlum roundup," though the excuse for the dragnet was to prevent election frauds. The men picked up included many without police records, seized in candy stores and on corners in the poorer sections of the city. Murphy said: "Those arrested, if they are freed in court, will be rearrested."

GOP LOAD: Matching pound for pound the load of mud carried by the Democrats and the Liberals was that gathered by the Republicans, topped by the Hanley scandal. The candor with which Lt. Gov. Hanley, GOP nominee for Senator, explained in writing how the nomination of Dewey for re-election was bargained for, bought and paid for, was unprecedented.

Even before the Hanley letter, Dewey was slowed by a long record of reaction in office: his fight against schoolteachers; his whitewash of fascist-minded officials at Peekskill; the gambling scandals at Saratoga.

ENTER ALP: The American Labor Party campaign threw glaring spotlights on the worst mess the big parties had ever brought to New York State, and forced into the elections the over-riding issue of peace. It fastened the war guilt on Democrats, Liberals and Republicans alike.

ALP's and the GUARDIAN's John T. McManus, candidate for governor, called in the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D-Iowa) promised hearings on the Republican frauds, but McManus last week wrote to him again reminding him that his petition

> . . . proposed inquiry not only into the circumstances concerning the Republican Party senatorial nomination but also those concerning the appointment of William O'Dwyer as ambassador to Mexico.

McManus, going beyond the scandals, keynoted the campaign when he asked 15,000 at Madison Square Garden:

> "How much press bilge and Washington eye-wash can we be expected to swallow before we are game to stand up and call a liar a liar, a warmaker a warmaker, a faker a faker, a MacArthur a Hitler, an Acheson a Ribbentrop, a Truman a dupe, a General Clay Freedom Crusade a fascist phony?"

The response tore the roof off.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, ALP candidate for Senator, raised the banner of peace and civil liberties. He declared:

> "The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberties is to elect officials who agree with you."

The fight under that banner will be waged on Row C.

The gang's all here

It was Pulaski Day and the guest of honor was the anti-Semitic Polish Gen. Wladislaw Anders (3d from right, above). And who turned out to honor him (l. to r.) but Gov. Dewey; Stephen J. Kopycinski of the parade committee; Rep. Lynch, Democratic candidate for governor; Sen. Lehman; Lt. Gov. Hanley, GOP candidate for U. S. Senator.

Howard Fast

How it feels to be a polit

Howard Fast, novelist, has written the story of many great American fighters for freedom, the finest products of our heritage. Last June, along with ten other members of the board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, he went to jail rather than express contempt for that heritage. They had refused to surrender to the House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by the embezzler J. Parnell Thomas, the list of contributors to the committee. As one of the first political prisoners of our day, Fast tells his story here. A second installment will appear next week.

By Howard Fast

HOW DOES IT FEEL to be a political prisoner in this America of 1950?

Not good, not very nice, not very pleasant. I had three months of it, and I don't want any more. But if I have to have more I'll live through it. There are many worse things, and if poor, damned criminals can survive years of it, so can we—and better. And in another sense, prison has been a part of the life experience of thousands of men who fought for justice and for the aspirations of mankind, here in America as well as elsewhere. It is not something to be afraid of; it is, however, something to know about.

It began for us on the 7th of June, in the District of Columbia. That morning, the judge refused the final plea of our committee, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The Supreme Court had already refused to hear argument on our case, so there were no further steps for us to take. We stood up in the courtroom, the United States marshals snapped the handcuffs on us, and we were marched downstairs to the basement to await transportation to the District Prison.

HANDCUFF BY ALPHABET: I was handcuffed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley; from then on, whenever I was handcuffed, I was always handcuffed to Bradley. It was a matter of alphabetical listing, for the names of our committee members ran this way: Auslander, Barsky, Bradley, Fast. We were handcuffed two by two, and for better or worse, my wrist and Dr. Bradley's began an intimate aquaintance.

In the courtroom basement, we were fingerprinted, neither the first nor the last time. In the Federal prison system, they seem to enjoy fingerprinting and do it at the drop of a hat. Personally, I did not like it; like being handcuffed, it was particularly humili-

THE WOMEN GO
"That was the

ating and degrading, bu
man's reaction to prison
which bothered me inte
other prisoners; and ma
many others were not p

WIRE AND DIRT: After
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A dozen other prisoners
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trial or hearing. We spe
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been held elsewhere, joi
in the rear; then a wire

CHICAGO

PP backs Parks, McCord, 3 Democrats

THE Illinois Progressive Party has two candidates for whom it rings doorbells, who are musts for progressives, who carry the PP banner. They are **Sam Parks** for Congress in the 1st CD and **Charles McCord** for state assemblyman from the 29th Senatorial District.

For progressives in other parts of Illinois the PP has this advice:

Between incumbent Sen. Scott Lucas, Democrat who backed the McCarran Act, and Republican Everett Dirksen who thinks the act does not go far enough, there can be no choice. Don't vote for Senator at all.

In the 2nd CD **Rep. Barrett O'Hara,** Democrat, who opposed the McCarran Act and favored rent control, is up against Richard Vail who as a member of the Un-American Activities Committee backed every anti-democratic measure before the House. Progressives favor O'Hara.

Also favored are incumbent Democrats **Sidney Yates** in the 9th CD and **Adolph J. Sabath** in the 7th. In the 12th, Democrat Charles Komaiko is expected to draw progressive support for his campaign to repeal the McCarran and Taft-Hartley acts, though the PP has announced no position on him.

MARC'S SECTOR: The hottest, most significant sector in the battle for peace and civil liberties is New York's 18th CD. There the only progressive voice in Congress, Vito Marcantonio, is fighting against a coalition of Democrats, Republicans and Liberals, teamed behind James G. Donovan who has backed the McCarran Act, Taft-Hartley, aid to Franco and Chiang Kai-shek, and whose rallies have echoed with anti-Semitic slogans.

Progressives in the final push were called upon to rally to these headquarters in Marc's area any hour of the day or night for canvassing, clerical work on other top priority jobs, and to come with cars if possible on Election Day from 5 a.m. on:

1287 2nd Av. (near 67th St.)
331 East 75th St. (1st Av.)
1437 3rd Av. (81st St.)
2907 2nd Av. (105th St.)
1490 Madison Ave. (102d St.)
274 East 116th St.

itical prisoner in the U.S.A.

O TO WASHINGTON JAIL
e last we saw of them"

but I must emphasize that a son is highly personal. Things tensely did not bother certain matters which were painful to painful to me.

ter the fingerprinting, we were , a cage about 20 feet square. rs were in there already—some es, others brought to court for spent about two hours in this g, trying to anticipate what questioning the other prisoners first time that the average little different from the man ept that he is usually poorer ble, more used to suffering and was a poor example of a Fed- ean and dirty. Federal prisons ber of ways, but not with dirt. we were taken to the District e handcuffs and the marshals. in our committee, who had oined us in the bus. They sat re screen; then us, the hand- cuffs and more heavy wire. When we reached the Federal prison, the women were taken away to the women's wing—and that was the last we saw of them until the terms were over.

DIGNITY DROPS AWAY: I had imagined that the jail in the District of Columbia would be small. It is not considered a penitentiary, but a common jail; for all that, it is an enormous institution, red brick walls, armed guards, towering cellblocks—and tight, so incredibly tight that an adventurous mouse would go insane trying to escape. We were led in through an electric gate, then another and another. Already, we were beginning to be shed of humanity, of dignity. Prison does that to you; prison guards do that to you. They look through you, up you and down you, but they never look at you as they would at a human being.

We entered a long corridor, and there I saw a sight that will remain with me for a long time to come. At the end of the corridor was a large room. There, on long benches, sat about a hundred men, Negro and white. All of them naked, they sat there, hunched over, heads bent—and for all the world, it was like one of those pictures of a Nazi concentration camp, a nightmare memory of something supposed to be dead and gone.

BLUE SHADOWS: We entered the room, and there we were brusquely told to undress. We stripped down, made bundles of our clothes and possessions, and joined the men on the benches. The little dignity we had clung to was stripped from us now. Naked I sat there, and naked were the men beside me, the doctors and lawyers, the labor leaders and the college professor who made up our committee. Naked, we were processed, fingerprinted again, questioned, filed, indexed. Then showers, antiseptic soap, antiseptic footbaths. Then the faded blue uniforms, and we were ready for our cells.

There is not space here to do much more than catalogue, and if you have ever seen a Hollywood prison film, you know the kind of cellblocks they have in the District Prison, five tiers high, the deep, narrow open well, the metal tables below, the staircase at one end, the exercise walk above. Separated from the rest, I was put on the third tier of cellblock 1—CB1, we called it. My cell was 5 by 7 feet and I shared it with another prisoner, a poor frightened lad of 18 who had begun to be caught when he was 12 and had already spent the best part of his life in prisons and reformatories.

In that 5-by-7 space were two beds, a toilet, sink and little table. No window; the front of the cell was heavy iron bars, the rest metal sheeting, and when the heavy electric door clanged shut behind me, I experienced a kind of hopeless cessation of will and struggle such as I had never known before.

NEXT WEEK: Life in prison.

SALTIEL AND HELLER: The PP "heartily recommends" **State Sen. Edward P. Saltiel** for re-election. He voted against the Broyles Bills, fought for crime commission legislation, FEPC, better housing and nursery schools.

In the race for municipal judge there are two musts: Re-elect Judge **Samuel Heller,** on the Republican ticket, long-standing progressive who ran for state's attorney on the PP slate in 1948; defeat Judge Joseph McGarry who freed the hoodlums who rioted in Peoria St. last November.

The PP made no endorsements for Cook County office but asked progressives to consider William Waugh for probate judge, George Kells for county treasurer, William Erickson for president of the County Board. Erickson is opposed by John Duffy, a Democratic Party hack, former hatchet man for Mayor Kennelly and a jimcrow advocate.

GATEWAY: PP leaders doubted that either Daniel Gilbert or John E. Babb, candidates for Cook County sheriff, could or would clean up Chicago; they recommended no vote for sheriff.

Up before Illinois voters is the referendum on the "gateway amendment" making it easier to revise the state constitution. The PP favors a constitutional convention to effect all the necessary reforms but joins other community groups in backing the amendment as a "first step." Approval will make it easier to revise the electoral laws under which a new political party finds it almost impossible to get on the ballot.

PEACE

Torches of peace converge on Sheffield

WITH the names of nearly one-quarter of humanity signed to the Stockholm Pledge, the Partisans of Peace were preparing last week to meet in one of the great arms-production centers of the West. For the second World Peace Congress some 3,000 delegates from every corner of the earth are expected in Sheffield, England: mostly working men and women, but including some of the most eminent names in science, culture and religion. At least 900 delegates will be house guests of Sheffield workers.

To dramatize the congress, the first teams of three groups of relay runners had set out across Europe: one from Bulgaria, a second from Poland, the third from Finland. On their treks across rivers and over mountains to the coast they will pass through 16 countries. In Britain they will be met by other teams which will bear the torches and messages to Sheffield.

DR. JOSEPH FLETCHER
Will the challenge be met?

THE PEOPLE SPEAK: In the U.S. Dr. Joseph Fletcher, professor of Christian social ethics at the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Cambridge, Mass., heads a sponsoring committee for the congress which includes four Protestant bishops, a physicist who worked on the first atom-bombs, and leading educators, scientists, cultural and religious leaders. For Dr. Fletcher the congress

> **. . . is a challenge to the American people to accept an invitation to meet and exchange ideas with people from all over the world and with all sorts of viewpoints, in a search for the road to world peace. . . . The leaders of nations have so far failed to find a common road of peaceful settlement of differences. Where the leaders have failed perhaps the people can succeed. To succeed in this, people of every country and of every political belief must sit down side by side, without prejudice.**

All emphasis is on getting representatives of as many different viewpoints as possible together; participants need not be supporters of the Stockholm Pledge, need not be bound by decisions and actions of the congress. Sole requirement of delegates is that they be "men and women of good will" determined to find the way to avert a war.

ROADS TO PEACE: Chosen as a basis for discussion on a program subject to delegates' amendments are:

> **Outlawing of all atomic weapons.**
> **Reduction and control of all armaments.**
> **Outlawing of propaganda making for war in any country whatsoever.**
> **Condemnation of aggression wherever it occurs and of foreign armed intervention in any nation's internal affairs.**
> **A return to accepted UN procedure as a preliminary to peaceful settlement in Korea.**
> **Using the UN as a completely representative body to settle disputes wherever they may arise.**

Organizations wishing to send delegates, or individuals wanting to attend, can write to Rev. Robert M. Muir, 135 Liberty St., Rm. 409, New York 6., N.Y. Groups of 50 delegates can charter a plane for a round trip cost of $395; individual plane rates range from $500 to $537.50 each. Ship travel, tourist class (the cheapest), costs $155-$165 one way. Living expenses in Britain (without frills): $6-$7 a day.

PEACE LOCKED OUT: On Oct. 24, United Nations Day, 1,000 women brought together by American Women for Peace made a pilgrimage to UN headquarters at Lake Success. In advance, they had made an appointment with Madame Lakshi Menon of the Indian delegation. They sought appointments with U.S. representatives Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mrs. Edith Sampson. In announcing the pilgrimage, the organization had declared:

> **We American women believe a peaceful solution of world problems is possible if the UN acts within the framework of its original principles.**

At UN gates the women were halted without explanation; after a long wait guards informed them that UN buildings were closed to the public for the day. They held an impromptu meeting of their own, on the outside. Said Dr. Clementina Paolone, chairman of the organization and American Labor Party candidate for N.Y. lieutenant-governor:

> **"I am amazed that on UN day, of all days, the delegations of the nations of the UN are not here to see and be seen by the people. We have a right to be here. We are many, we are strong, we represent many, many thousands of women all over America who are fighting for peace."**

FREEDOMS

High Court won't give Maryland democracy

FROM MARYLAND came an urgent request to the U.S. Supreme Court to review before elections a ruling that political candidates must sign loyalty oaths under the state's Ober Law. The court rejected the request, thereby in effect ruling off the ballot Louis Shub, Progressive candidate for governor. The PP's candidate for U.S. Senate was unaffected; a state court ruled that the Ober Law oath (the entire law will be up for a referendum vote Nov. 7) doesn't apply to candidates for federal office.

The Supreme Court also:

- Granted a review of the conviction under the Smith Act of 11 Communist Party leaders, but said it would only consider the Act's constitutionality and not the challenges made in the appeal to the conduct of the trial. Decision was postponed on whether the contempt convictions of the six defense lawyers would be reviewed. (Two of these, Harry Sacher and Abraham J. Isserman, were last week defending themselves in court against moves by two New York bar associations to disbar them.)

- For a second time refused to consider an appeal from contempt of Congress convictions against Helen R. Bryan and Ernestina G. Fleischman, members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The two must serve three-month prison sentences. Mrs. Fleischman commented:

> **"If it is a crime to help and defend the victims of the fascist Franco, who with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini wiped out half of Spain, killed 1,000,000 Spaniards and destroyed the democratic institutions of Spain—then I am guilty. The fact remains that my associates and I are victims of Franco's friends in the U.S."**

IS THE CONSTITUTION LEGAL? This week the court will have before it the legality under the Constitution of convictions for contempt of courts and Congress for refusal to reveal political affiliations.

The case under review comes from Denver, Colo., where in 1948 seven persons were summoned as witnesses before a federal grand jury and then questioned about Communist Party membership and activities in the state. They were jailed for refusing to answer. The court's decision will affect 56 contempt of Congress cases now pending.

INDIANA

Victory for Judge Harris

CIRCUIT COURT Judge Norval K. Harris of Sullivan, Ind., is an old-time midwestern small-"d" democrat who insists on thinking with his own head and be damned to those who don't like it. When the top Communist leaders were indicted under the Smith Act, he was one of the first to join a national committee of prominent citizens to help their defense. A collision with local status quo-ers already out to get him was inevitable. Faced with one fanciful charge after another ever since, he beat most of them but lost one and served a 60-day sentence on the state penal farm for indirect contempt of the Indiana Supreme Court.

On his release, he was promptly accused of issuing a fraudulent check for $15, was brought to trial again in his own court. A jury deliberated an hour and ten minutes to reach a verdict of not guilty. Last week for the first time in many months, Judge Harris' slate was clean.

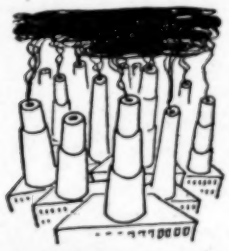
UNITED NATIONS

U.S. power grab disturbs even its own allies

OCT. 24 was the fifth anniversary of the ratification of the United Nations Charter. It was UN Day, the first international holiday to be celebrated around the world. In Portland, Ore., Asst. Secy. of State Dean Rusk, formerly director of the State Dept.'s Office of UN Affairs, explained the U.S. attitude toward the 60-nation world organization:

> "We are the UN. There is no great organization at Lake Success. When we point to the UN, we point to ourselves."

At Flushing Meadows, N.Y., President Truman spoke to a jammed session of the General Assembly. He devoted more than a third of his 21-minute talk to peace and disarmament—an effort clearly designed to counter Soviet disarmament proposals and mounting criticism of U.S. militarism in many nations. At the same time he insisted that "the only course" is "to create armaments."



There was one new approach in his version of the now-standard U.S. argument for arming to the hilt: his proposal that the UN Atomic Energy Commission be fused with the Commission on Conventional Armaments. This the Russians have been demanding for four years on the grounds that "conventional" and atomic disarmament cannot be separated. A U.S. spokesman later denied this constituted a shift in policy.

WHO IS MAKING WAR? Up for discussion in the Assembly last week was the Soviet proposal to ban war propaganda, outlaw the atom bomb and brand as a war criminal the first nation to use it, reduce Big Five armies by a third, and conclude a Big Five peace pact. Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky in a major speech demanded that the U.S. match its professions of peace with deeds. U.S., British, French, Dutch troops have been waging war since World War II, he said, not Soviet troops. U.S. bases, not Soviet, "bespangle" the world. He advised his listeners to read the recent N.Y. **Times** articles from Moscow which described Russia's absorption in great rebuilding and reconstruction plans.

Russia, Vishinsky said, still stands by its 1947 proposal for inspection under an international atom agreement if there is suspicion of illicit bomb-making activities. U.S. officials and press have consistently claimed that Russia rejected inspection and have used this as a pretext for blocking atom control. Vishinsky said:

> "The doors are open, the windows are open, the shades are up—but anyone who wishes to look through the doors, windows and shades must remove the blinders from his own eyes."

ATOMIC JITTERS: The untold story of this Assembly—as far as the American press is concerned—is that, on the one hand, Russian efforts to halt the war drive have made a deep impression; and on the other, that U.S. dictation has roused antagonism and distress even in some leading Western delegations.

Many in the Assembly were shocked when—in pushing a counter-proposal to the Soviet Plan—Australian delegate Spender and Greek delegate Cassimatis said bluntly the atom bomb should be used "to halt aggression." U.S. delegate Austin's efforts to brand as traitors all those outside the Soviet bloc who signed the World Peace Appeal could not reassure the smaller nations which, as Vishinsky warned, may be the first victims of atomic war.

NOBODY HOME: The recently-elected UN Committee on Korea appeared to have already abdicated. It simply adjourned indefinitely while South Korea's Syngman Rhee with the backing of Gen. MacArthur—in defiance of UN orders—extends his police-state government over all Korea.

"OUR MAN OR ELSE": The fight over appointment of a new Secretary General, as incumbent Trygve Lie's term expires, won the U.S. no friends. The N.Y. **Times** reported that even pro-U.S. and pro-Lie delegations viewed Austin's threat to veto anyone but Lie as "contradictory and unneeded." This is the real story of the fight over Lie:

Three weeks ago the Soviet delegation asked the U.S. to discuss the appointment of a new Secretary General before a vote was taken in the Security Council. The U.S. refused. When the Council took up the question, Russia vetoed Lie's reappointment. U.S. sources circulated the story that Russia objected to Lie's views on North Korea. The real Russian objection, however, was not on the ground of Lie's personal opinions but of his failure to abide by UN rules: as international civil servant No. 1 he is not supposed to inject himself personally into any matter which is going to be discussed by the Council or any other UN body. Lie condemned North Korea as an aggressor before the Council had discussed the question at all.

UNDERCURRENTS: The U.S. position seemed to be that Lie should be reappointed just because Russia doesn't want him. The real drive for Lie's reappointment stems from his personal advisers, who are all Americans. Closest advisers are Abe Feller of the Legal Dept. and Andrew Cordier, Executive Asst. The Secretary General picks his own advisers and Lie's would presumably lose their influence and possibly jobs if another man were chosen.

The U.S.S.R. proposed several other candidates, including the bitterly anti-Soviet Carlos Romulo of the Philippines and Charles Malik of Lebanon. Each got four votes in the Council (Russia, China, India, Egypt). Then came the U.S. threat to veto. At the week-end, the U.S. corraled 13 nations, including Yugoslavia and India, to sponsor a General Assembly resolution that would extend Lie's term three more years.

Strong undercurrents in the UN to break away from extreme U.S. policy were seen in the proposal of Indian delegate Sir Benegal Rau that the nations convert their arms budgets into a UN Peace Fund. The resolution called the growth of large armaments "a threat to international peace" (a position directly contradictory to the U.S. "peace through strength" policy) and asked each nation to report before March, 1951, how much it will reduce its armaments and how much it will contribute to the UN Peace Fund. The U.S. and Britain, which earlier bluntly rejected the Soviet disarmament proposal, were distinctly cool to the Indian plan. A move was underway to sidetrack it to the Assembly's Economic Committee.

•

THE RELUCTANT FRENCH: In Washington the Atlantic Pact nations mapped the contribution of each member to the common war pool, and were ready to pick a supreme commander—probably Gen. Eisenhower. But the Washington meeting, like all other recent meetings of the Western powers, was snagged on the issue of rearming Germany.

The French government, which under intense U.S. pressure accepted German rearmament in principle, sees its survival at stake if it supports the specific U.S. plan, and remains obdurate. France now not only distrusts the Germans but, according to Anne O'Hare McCormick in the N.Y. **Times,**

> . . . also distrusts all the other members of the Atlantic Pact, including the U.S.

Opposition to German remarmament is growing in West Germany itself, where twice-defeated Germans were hardly reassured last week by Gen. Clay's call for the "liberation" not only of East Germany but of East Europe.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

Peace: "I must hide! The Security Council is meeting again . . ."

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New York

"THE 400 MILLION"—Joris Ivens' early film. The Chinese people's heroic struggle against aggression. Also "Mr. Prokouk's Conversion," puppet film, plus "What's Happening in Harlem." Stadium Club, ALP, 724 Gerard Av., Bronx. Sun., Nov. 5, 8:30 p.m. Admission 49c.

Chicago

CANDLELIGHT CABARET & DANCE —Sat., Nov. 18. 5 piece Orchestra. Floor Show, Fun, Frolic, Friendship, Food. Donation 75c. PE Hall, 1110 S. Oakley Blvd. Benefit: Tenants Fighting Fund. Auspices: Chicago Tenants Action Council.

SATURDAY NITE BY CANDLELITE DANCE. Meet and greet progressives, dance the orange dance, eat chili, sing to accordion playing at the Sholem Aleichem School on Sat., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. Admission only 25c. Sponsored by Hyde Park LYL for delegates to the convention.

Kumar Goshal

Asia doesn't like our big stick and says so out loud

By Kumar Goshal

IN his speech at San Francisco following the Wake Island rendezvous with Gen. MacArthur, whose peace-making task in Korea was drawing to a close, President Truman "offered" to the peoples of Asia a "partnership of peace." Before he spoke he might have done well to acquaint himself with the Asians' feelings in the matter. This he could easily have done by reading the reports of the 11th international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which closed at Lucknow, India, just before Truman set out for Wake Island.

At that conference U.S. policy in Asia came in for sharp criticism from the most strongly anti-Communist delegates. Asians, said a Pakistani delegate, watch with grave concern the "growing circle of U.S. bases in the Pacific;" he asked whether "U.S. security is identical with U.S. imperialism." Robert Trumbull reported to the **N.Y. Times:**

> The conditions of investment desired by U.S. private business were unacceptable to some Asian governments . . . [A Pakistani delegate] didn't think the people of Asia would be in favor of a government that threw its might wholeheartedly behind U.S. policies for the sake of economic aid.

Indians, including Premier Nehru, disapproved of the now successful American attempt to circumvent Big Power unanimity in the UN by making the Security Council subservient to the General Asesmbly. They believed the UN was fast becoming a "U.S. stooge," and resented the indifference shown by big Western powers in the UN to the wishes of the Asian peoples. Wrote Trumbull:

> These speakers, mostly savants from institutions of learning, implied that the U.S. at best was bent upon some sort of economic imperialism, and at worst hopes to use Asian lives as cannon fodder in a war against the Soviet Union of which Asia, they said, wanted no part ... Asian views on the Soviet Union . . . boiled down to a tenuous admiration for a daring experiment to correct social conditions that also afflict this country.

THE "RATS" OBJECT: This is the inevitable result of America's post-war policy of supporting Chiang in China, the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in Malaya, the French in Indo-China, and Quirino in the Philippines.

Asian peoples without exception have come to look upon the Korean war as a struggle between Asians and non-Asians. Public opinion has been aggravated also by the way the war has been reported in the Western press. The Indian weekly, **The Republic,** editorially comments:

> In one of Gen. MacArthur's communities, the retreat of American troops was explained as the result of being overwhelmed by "hordes" of infantry. Not masses of infantry, nor superior numbers of infantry, but hordes as befits an oriental army. Racial chauvinism is expressed when U.S. soldiers are quoted describing the Koreans as "gooks," a contemptuous and derogatory term. . . . North Koreans crossing a river are described as swarming across "like rats." ... The minimizing of Asians and instinctive indifference to their sensibilities are especially strong in the U.S. command. The putting of Formosa under the protection of the U.S. fleet is a crass example of this not very flattering attitude towards the Asians, since this decision was taken in full knowledge of the fact that it will shock public opinion, even of India, whose support of the Security Council's resolution had caused such "immense moral relief" in the U.S.

Franc Tireur

As ye sow . . .

EMPTY DENIALS: Western reaction to these speeches by Asians has been typically arrogant, which is not going to help matters any. Western delegates to the IPR conference hotly denied the accusations. Even as the denials were made, the U.S. government announced further military aid to the French in Indo-China.

Editorially the **Times,** after admitting that "the French obviously have not won the populace to their side, nor have they convinced enough people that they really intend to grant independence," went on to support the French by saying:

> The alternative to the French and their weak choice for a ruler—the Emperor Bao Dai—is communism under Ho Chi Minh.

In another editorial the **Times** spoke some "Plain Words to Indians," accused them of lack of understanding of U.S. motives, implied that the Asian speakers were "Moscow stooges," and called Nehru an appeaser. The **Times,** however, has not suggested the dispatch of UN troops to West Africa to free the Herreros, who have just been "integrated" into the Union of South Africa in flagrant violation of repeated UN directives.

DON'T TREAD ON US: Contrary to the belief of the **Times,** greater understanding of the desires of the Asians is needed here. Asians do not want economic aid in terms of the Philippines Trade Act, nor do they want U.S. investment in terms of Aramco in Saudi Arabia. They wish to arrange their lives to suit themselves.

It would be a disastrous mistake to believe with MacArthur that whoever carries a Big Stick would automatically gain the allegiance of the Asians.

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America's fighting heritage (II)

Protest against plunder elected Lincoln in '60 —and today's parallel?

By Elmer A. Benson
National Chairman, Progressive Party

If the locomotive of our country gets off the track, it is surely not the duty of the people to keep it off or to carry it forward while off, but to put their shoulders to the work of getting it back again... We are on the wrong track and some unprincipled men are for pushing on that track into the heart of Mexico.

OUR COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG? N.Y. Evangelist, June, 1846, condemning the war on Mexico.

THE task of getting America back on the track laid by the plain people in the days of the Revolution is a continuing and back-breaking one. The struggle against the tyranny of wealth and property never ends. More than once that struggle has demanded courage to stand up in war-time to oppose war fought for wealth and property.

Now that we are again on the wrong track—and unprincipled men are for pushing on that track into the heart not only of Korea, but of China and Russia and wherever people will not bow the knee to American money-power—the same courage is demanded again.

But we can take heart from the many men—and some of them became great men—who defied hysteria to oppose the war on Mexico a century ago. At that time the slave-owners, challenging the liberties won in the Bill of Rights and reaffirmed when Jefferson became President, had set out to extend the slave system by making war on our friendly southern neighbor. Reading over the history of the Mexican War I am deeply impressed by the parallels between the slave war of yesterday and the imperialist war we are waging today.

LINCOLN STOOD UP: In 1846 President James K. Polk provoked a border incident as a pretext for annexing new slave territory including California and Nevada. The whole anti-slavery Abolitionist movement rose up to demand an end to the war—yes, even while American boys were dying on the battlefield. And hysteria was great. Mexico, then the second largest republic in the world, was no easy conquest.

But during the war Abraham Lincoln, a freshman Congressman from Illinois, introduced into the House his "spot resolutions" to expose the fraudulence of Polk's claim that Mexico started the war. In explaining his stand, he said:

> "Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which, we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. . . ."

Charles Sumner, later a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, called the war "an enormity born of slavery... base in object, atrocious in beginning, immoral in all its influences, vainly prodigal of treasure and life." He said:

> "Not that I love country less, but Humanity more, do I now plead the cause of a higher and truer patriotism. I cannot forget that we are men by a more sacred bond than we are citizens—that we are children of a common Father more than we are Americans."

DOUGLASS SPOKE FOR PEACE: One of the bitterest opponents of the war was the ex-slave Frederick Douglass. When the war ended in a peace such as that now imposed on Korea, which robbed Mexico of a great part of her territory, Douglas wrote:

> That an end is put to wholesale murder in Mexico is truly just cause for rejoicing; but we are not the people to rejoice, we ought rather to blush and hang our heads for shame, and in the spirit of profound humility crave pardon for our crimes at the hands of a God whose mercy endureth forever.

Earlier he had written:

> We have no preference for parties regarding this slaveholding crusade. The one is as bad as the other. The friends of peace have nothing to hope from either. The Democrats claim the credit for commencing and the Whigs monopolize the glory of voting supplies and carrying on the war.

SIX YEARS LATER: Today as in Douglass' time there is no preference for the two old parties. The one is as bad as the other. The friends of peace have nothing to hope from either.

In Douglas' time—as in our time—people who in his words were "sick of such hypocrisy" could find in the old parties no way to end the blot of slavery and implement freedom. They came together in 1854 to form a new party which adopted the slogan: "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men," and chose the name of Jefferson's old party, Republican.

The new party, like the Progressive Party today, combined various elements of protest against the plundering and bankruptcy of the two old parties. Within six years it had elected Lincoln President.

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Fast's 12th novel

The revolt of the Pennsylvania line

By Cedric Belfrage

IN a review of Howard Fast's new novel as spiteful as it was inaccurate—the only review I have seen, for the book is being strangled at birth by press silence and a semi-boycott in bookstores—Sterling North in the N.Y. **World-Telegram** accuses Fast of wilfully distorting American history to serve the Kremlin's sinister purposes.

The Proud and the Free is, in fact, as commendably subversive as the Declaration of Independence. Its theme is the revolt on New Year's Day, 1781, of the Pennsylvania Line soldiers—Irish, English, German, Negro, Polish, Jewish, yet already so American—against the gentry who led them: the gentry with "property" on their revolutionary banner,. whose arrogance and brutality toward the rank and file made the great Declaration as empty a form of words as the Atlantic Charter was for Churchill.

MORE THAN PHOTOGRAPHIC: Published as Fast finished a jail term for contempt of a Congressional committee (not to be contemptuous of which would be contemptible), this, his twelfth novel, testifies to his development as a story-teller and to the deepening of his humanity. Fast assures us that all major details of his story are substantiated in the papers of General Wayne (a sadistic yet not entirely repulsive character in it) and Washington Irving's **Life of George Washington.** But the techniques of "socialist realism" which he uses are not, of course, photographic; they "add to the true picture of things," as the French novelist Louis Aragon puts it, "the spirit which animates them, the spirit of progress." Told as by a participant recalling them in old age when he has become a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad, the tragic and heroic events of the Line revolt contain in them both legacies of the past and seeds of the future.

The great historical novelist needs the god's-eye view not fastened down by time — and Fast is more than a good one. This picture, for example, is Revolutionary War documentation but not merely that:

> Oh, there was good business in the tavern all right, for the rising of the Line had provoked a great buying and selling, and the commission merchants and the dirty and indifferent traders — who owed allegiance to the hard dollar and the pound sterling and to nothing else — were scurrying over the road between York City and Philadelphia like rabbits, buying low and selling high, spreading every filthy rumor they could concoct, buying what they did not own and selling it before they ever had it, dealing in uniforms unworn, shoes we never saw, food we never ate, guns we never handled, munitions we never shot, bodies not yet dead.

"SOMEDAY OUR TURN": As Fast depicts them — and it strikes the chord of truth for me at any rate — the "trash" of the Pennsylvania Line are the historical ancestors of our era's partisan fighters from Spain to China. Their revolt is foredoomed to failure—and they know it soon enough—because history's inexorable law that the conditions be ripe for each step forward is not fulfilled.

The lesson they must learn is that the prize of freedom for their country, still under the gentry who lead and lash them in war, is the most that history has for them then. As Fast's narrator Jamie Stuart sees it, something worthwhile has been proved by the revolt:

> . . . That we, by ourselves, can make ourselves into a better army than whips and canes ever made us. Someday, other men will remember that.

But now there is nothing for these men who have briefly affirmed their pride of manhood to do but follow the gentry in whom "there is also a pride,"

> . . . follow them and fight for them and take their lashes across my back—because now it is their turn and I move a step with them, but someday it will be my turn, even if I am dead and rotten in the earth.

Hatred of the General Waynes has no place, for "what he had to do he did, and some day what we have to do, we will do." And on this note Fast ends a story as gripping in itself as any fiction allowed in bookstore windows, as exciting in its implications for the progressive reader as it will be shocking and disturbing to devotees of the cherry-tree theory of history.

CENSORSHIP STOPS HERE: The compliment that the critics and bookstores pay Fast by suppressing knowledge of his book is a bitter one. But this brief review cannot omit commendation for the integrity and courage of Little, Brown & Co., the conservative Boston house whose opinion of unofficial political censorship is shown by their publication, in the past year, of Aldridge's **The Diplomat,** Anna Seghers' **The Dead Stay Young** (to be reviewed here shortly) and James S. Martin's **All Honorable Men** in addition to this fine American book by the author America sent to jail.

THE PROUD AND THE FREE, by Howard Fast. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 311 pp. $3.

Martha Sawyers

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